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Abstract

This paper presents, within the framework of case grammar, an analysis of object pronominalization in Spanish. It begins with a discussion of the derivation of pronouns in general, and proceeds with observations on the structure of object pronouns in Spanish, and with rules for their derivation. Reasons are given for excluding many so-called "reflexive" constructions from the analysis of pronominalization, and some of the non-pronominal constructions are discussed. (Author/DO)

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Verbal Clitics and Object Pronouns in Spanish

by

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1968

AL 002 098

This paper presents, within the framework of case grammar, an analysis of object pronominalization in Spanish.[1] It begins with a discussion of

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[1]Much of the material for this paper is discussed informally in my book, The Syntax of Spanish Reflexive Verbs: the Parameters of the Middle Voice. The Hague, Mouton, 1969 (hereafter referred to as Reflexives). I owe thanks to Marta Morello-Frosch and Marlene Estévez-Astier of The Ohio State University, and to Nelly Martínez of McGill for their insights; and to J. C. Babcock and C. J. Fillmore of OSU for their comments.

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the derivation of pronouns in general, and proceeds with observations on the structure of object pronouns in Spanish, and with rules for their derivation. Reasons are given for excluding many so-called 'reflexive' constructions from the analysis of pronominalization, and some of the non-pronominal constructions are discussed.

1. The structure of pronouns. In a recent analysis by Fillmore (1967) pronouns (Prns) are derived from determiners. This analysis will not account for sentences in which Prns can cooccur with NPs. These are sentences like (1) - (3).

(1) My wife shé says it isn't true.

(2) I read it already, that book

(3) They are incredible, some of those interpretations.

Cooccurence of NP and Prn in sentences like (1), where the Prn is normally stressed, is not at all uncommon. Neither are sentences with tag-NPs, where the NP is retained either for some kind of emphasis, or for clarification of reference. And since the NP in all of these sentences includes a determiner, we cannot derive personal Prns from determiners.[2] Rather,

[2]Fillmore includes this and that among the Prn- determiners. Actually, they are distinguished from personal Prns by their determiner status. But notice that in Spanish the deictics, este 'this' and ese 'that', may co-occur with definite articles. We can say este libro 'this book', or el libro este, and so on.

they must be derived transformationally as parts of NP.[3] The derivation

[3]This analysis was first proposed in my dissertation in 1965. (The title is the same as Reflexives.)

of first and second person Prns is guaranteed by marking the N for the feature of [-first person] and [-singular] and allowing it(optionally) to be realized lexically as zero.[4] Zero Ns must then be expanded transforma-

[4]First person Ns are said here to be optionally empty because we can say I, Mary Smith, am not guilty.

tionally into N-Prn and represented at the sentence level by the Prn only. The derivation of Prns is illustrated below.

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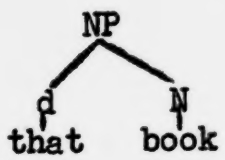

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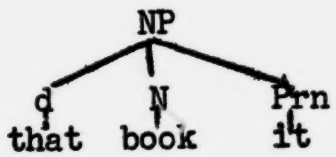

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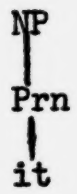

2. Observations on object Prns and verbal clitics in Spanish. Object Prns in Spanish are traditionally said to have two forms, the conjunctive

and the disjunctive, also called the unaccented (unstressed) and the accented (stressed). The unaccented (conjunctive) forms are referred to as verbal clitics or affixes, and the disjunctives occur only as heads of prepositional phrases. The clitic may occur alone, as in (7),

(7) Le veo 'I see him'

or it may coooccur with the disjunctive; but the disjunctive Prn occurs only in the presence of the clitic. Thus (8) is grammatical and (9) is not.

(8) Le veo a él (pero no a ella) 'I see him, but not her'

(9) *Veo a él

In Spanish textbooks, the <u>él</u> of (8) is said to be a redundant Prn. This definition of 'redundancy' is extended to sentences containing a clitic and a N object.

(10) La veo a María cuando voy al club 'I see Mary when I go to the club'

In (10), we are told, it is the clitic which is redundant. The 'addition' of <u>a él</u> in (8) is said, essentially correctly, to be determined by emphasis or contrast. The presence of the clitic in (10) is unexplained. The analysis of the clitics is complicated by the fact that in the absence of the disjunctive forms, sentences with the clitics are ambiguous. Observe (11) and (12).

(11) Lo conozco 'I know it/him'

(12) La vi 'I saw it/her'

Sentence (11) presupposes ambiguously (13) or (14); sentence (12) presupposes ambiguously (15) or (16).

(13) Lo conozco a él (pero no a ella) 'I know him, but not her'

(14) Conozco el Libro de Buen Amor 'I know the Libro de Buen Amor'

(15) La vi a ella (pero no a él) 'I saw her, but not him'

(16) Vi la película 'I saw the film'

It is clear that in (11) and (12) the clitics lo and la are not meaning-bearing elements, and that since these sentences presuppose sentences like (13) and (15), the disjunctives are not redundant.[5] It is not the case

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[5]The grammarian Bello (1964) says that the clitic and the disjunctive are two parts of the same Prn. This interpretation, while not accurate, is more appropriate than that found in the textbooks.

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that they are added for emphasis; rather, they are retained for emphasis.

In Castilian Spanish, the dialect on which this study is based, ambiguity is obviated by the use of the clitic le when the object Prn is singular, masculine, and human. Thus, (11) would be realized as (17).

(17) Le conozco 'I know him'

However, the clitics le and lo are sometimes indifferently interchangeable, both for human and inanimate objects, and neither affix has any independent meaning.

Ambiguity of reference is generally confined to third person constructions, but it exists also in some sentences with first and second person plural reflexive objects, even when a disjunctive Prn is present. Observe (18).

(18) No debemos abandonarnos a nosotros mismos

This sentence glosses either as (19) or (20).

(19) We must not abandon ourselves

(20) We must not abandon ourselves to ourselves

In the sense of (19), (18) traces directly to the deep structure. In the

sense of (20), however, the direct object-phrase has been (obligatorily) deleted. The deep structure, then, contains

(21) No debemos abandonar (nos) a nosotros mismos a nosotros mismos

Again it is clear that the clitic has no meaning. The nos in (18) cannot correctly be glossed either as us, or as ourselves, or as to ourselves. It is neither an object, nor reflexive, nor a Prn. None of the clitics ar Prns; they are pronominal elements of the Verb (V).

2.1 Object Prns versus verbal clitics. It is well known that the shape of the V in Spanish conveys information about the person, number, and sometimes gender, of the (surface) subject. What has not been noted in any explicit way is that the shape of the Spanish V often provides other kinds of information about the subject, or information about the surface direct or dative (D) objects. The conveyance of these other kinds of information is the function of the clitics. They are pronominal elements of the V, just as the o of canto 'I sing' is a pronominal element of the V. The clitics may provide information about N objects and must provide information about Prn-objects. As in other languages (e.g. Menonmini), when the object is deleted, the Spanish V still contains within it information about the object. This is especially obvious in the forms for 'you look at me' Me miras and 'I look at you' te miro, where the Vs completely specify the object, and the Prns mí and ti are not present in non-contrastive, non-emphatic sentences. In third person constructions, absence of the Prns creates ambiguity, as we have seen.

With transitive Vs having direct objects the clitics specify 1) the grammatical gender of the object; 2) the number; and 3) definiteness. In addition the clitic le in Castilian marks the object as human. The D

clitics convey the information that the V has a superficial D object (which may be Locative (L) or Benefactive (B) in the deep structure), and that the D object is singular or plural.

It should be emphasized that the clitics do not convey information about whether the object is a N or a Prn, since they cooccur with both. It is also important to note that not all of the clitics are exclusively object markers. The clitic lo occurs sometimes with ser 'to be' as in the following.

(22) ¿Es Vd. la dueña de la casa? Sí, lo soy. 'Are you the lady of the house? Yes, I am'

However, although we cannot say the clitics are always object markers, we can say that the Spanish V exhibits concord with its subject; agrees with a direct object Prn in person, number, and grammatical gender, and with its D Prn in person and number. When the object Prn is deleted, the V still carries information about it; the sentence lo sé is glossed properly as 'I know the definite grammatically masculine object.'

2.2 The presence of the clitics with N objects. Once we realize that the clitics are not Prns, it becomes easier to understand some of the apparent mysteries of their behavior. For example, sentences like (23) and (24) do not have redundant Prns.

(23) Le hablé a María (y no hice más que saludarla a Juana) 'I spoke to Mary, (but did no more than greet Juana)'

(24) Le hablé a ella (y no hice más que saludarla a Juana) 'I spoke to her, but did no more than greet Juana'

The presence of a clitic when the object is a N is formally optional for some Vs,[6] but its presence makes a difference semantically. Consider the

[6]There are many constructions in which the clitic is required, even when the N object follows the V. This is true of many causatives and of all Vs whose superficial Ds are deep structure Ls or adnominal Ds. We say Le puse los zapatos al niño but not *Puse los zapatos al niño; Le lavé las manos al niño 'I washed the child's hands', but not *Lavé las manos al niño. The analysis of these constructions is found in 2.2.1.

following sentences.

(25) ¿Le hablas a Juan? 'Do you speak to John?

(26) ¿Hablas a Juan? 'Are you speaking to John (these days)?'

(27) La conozco a María 'I am acquainted with Mary'

(28) Conozco a María, y sé que ella no haría eso 'I know Mary, and I know she wouldn't do that'

The semantic distinction between (27) and (28) is clear from the glosses. The distinction between (25) and (26) becomes clear when we see the kinds of answers they can elicit, as exemplified in (29) and (30) which answer (25) and (26) respectively.

(29) Sí, le hablo cuando nos vemos en el club 'Yes, I speak to him when I see him in the club'

(30) No, no le hablo desde que nos peleamos 'No, I haven't spoken to him since we fought'

Sentence (25) could be answered by (31), while sentence (26) could not.

(31) Sí, nos hablamos 'Yes, we speak to each other'

The optional presence of the clitic marks the N object in the preceding sentences as a participant in the verbal activity, rather than simply a participant in the sentence. It is not easy to see just how this 'participation' feature is to be accounted for formally. I note these facts here simply to illustrate the semantic differences between sentences with and without the clitics.[7]

[7]The facts about the 'participation' function of optional clitics disprove the curious notion found in textbooks of late (Bolinger and others, 1960) that the clitic is 'added' whenever the activity of the V is considered to be within the normal, relaxed, customary range of operations. The presence of the clitic has nothing to do with whether operations are normal or not. Note, for example, the sentence, Le rogamos al farmacéutico que, como un favor especial, nos dé la medicina de fiado. 'We will beg the pharmacist to give us the medicine on credit as a special favor.' The clitic in this sentence, in which the activity is clearly not in the normal range of operations, simply elicits the participation of the D object.

2.2.1. Dative objects with obligatory clitics. It has already been noted that surface D objects are not always Ds in the deep structure. For example, the surface D in (32) is a D in the deep structure; the surface D in (33) is a Locative, while that in (34) is a Source N.[8] And in (35) the D is an adnominal of possession.

(32) Juan le dio el asiento a María 'John gave the seat to Mary'

(33) María le puso los zapatos al niño 'Mary put the shoes on the child'

(34) María le quitó la chaqueta al niño 'Mary took the jacket off the child'

(35) María le lavó las manos al niño 'Mary washed the child's hands'

The ways in which these sentences differ from one another is illustrated in the following diagrams. (36) illustrates the structure of (32), and so on with the others,

[8]The category of Source is a subcategory of Locative (Loc) which may cooccur with a 'destinative' L (destinative or static Loc). The two co-occur in Mary ran from home to school in ten minutes. The need for the establishment of this category was discussed in Reflexives.

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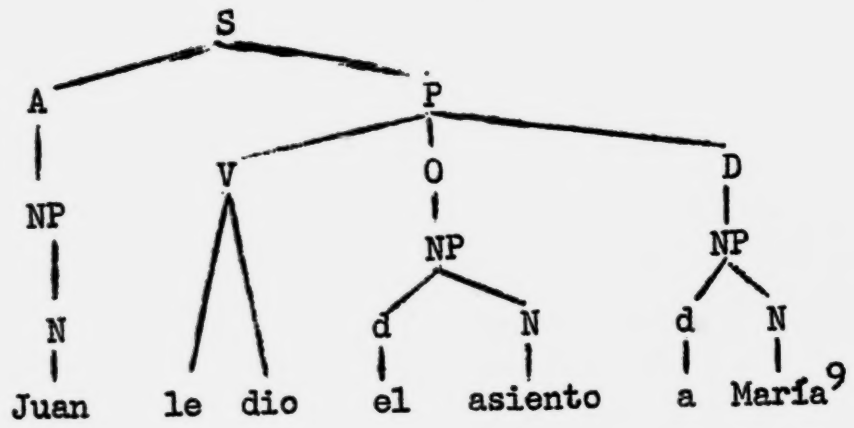

[9]

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[9]P is 'Proposition,' the V and its participants; O is 'Objective,' the semantically most neutral participant; K is 'Kasus,' normally realized as a preposition in English. K in this study is treated as a constituent, rather than a sibling, of NP.

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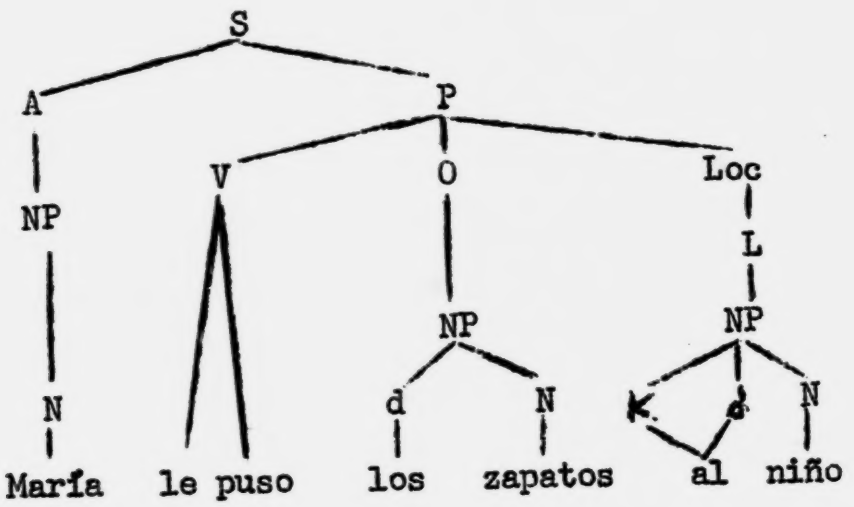

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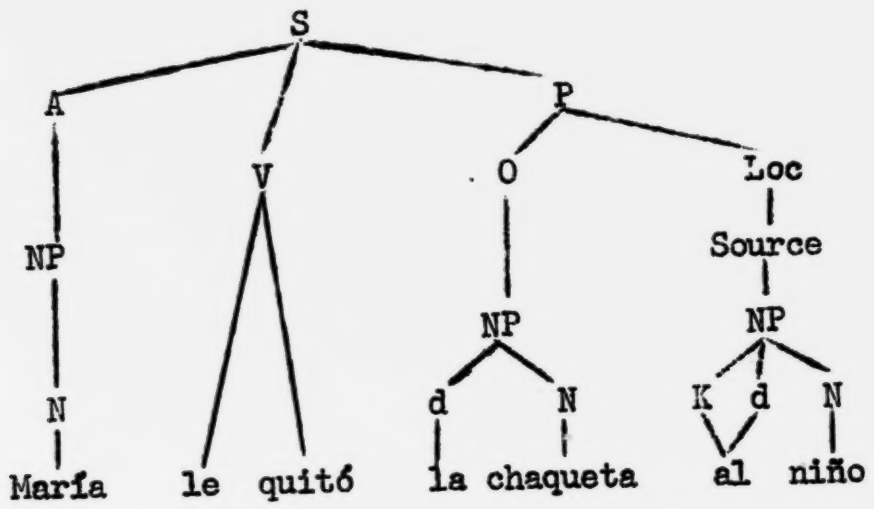

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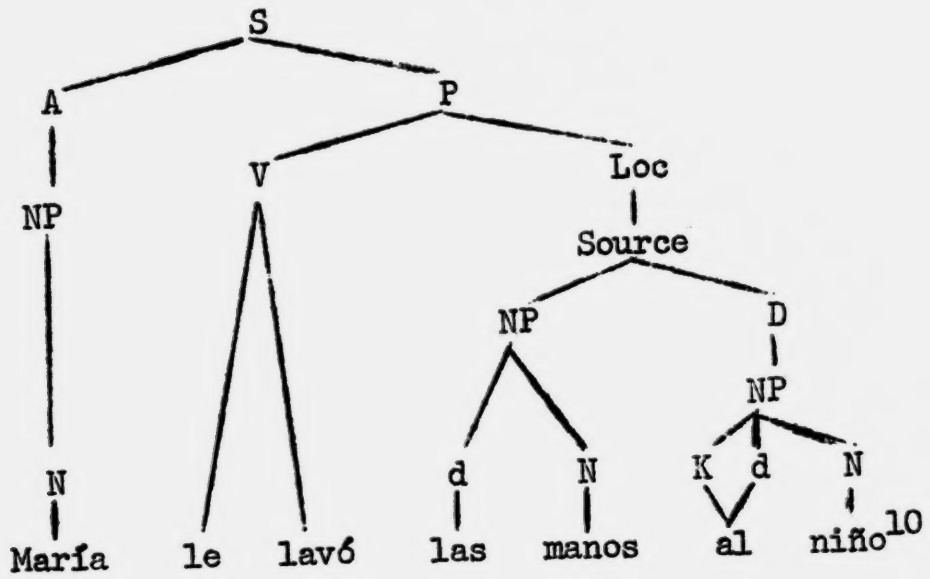
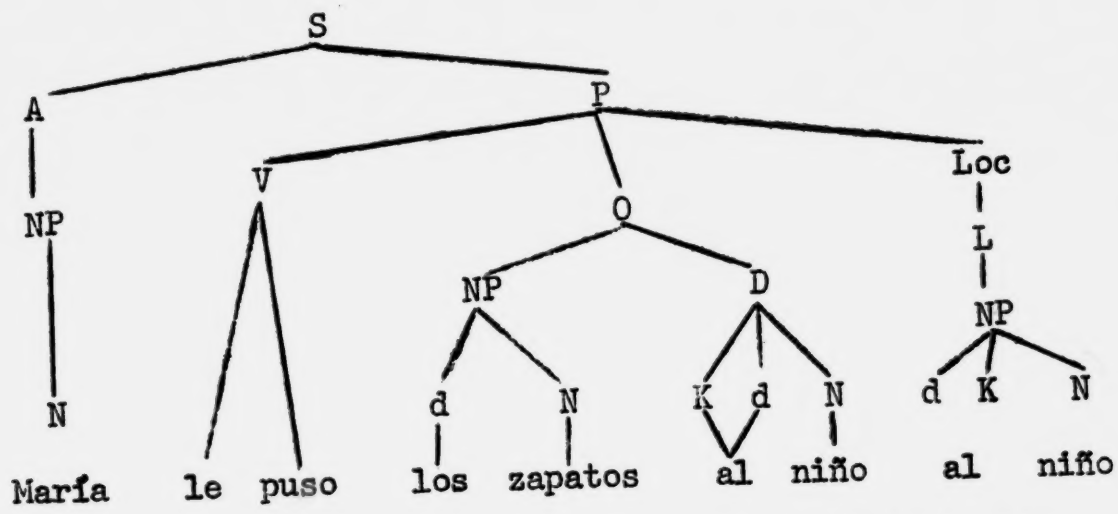


[10]The surface object of lavar, like that of the English 'wash', is a Source NP in the deep structure. Underlying Mary washed her hands is something like Mary washed the dirt off her hands; María se lavó las manos is María quitó el polvo de las manos.

The clitic is obligatorily present in all of the examples above. It should be noted that (33) and (34) are ambiguous, since the objects may be taken to be inalienably possessed by the D or not. In other words, underlying (33) we have either (37) or (39)(a).

(39)(a)



When sentences like (33) have the underlying structure of (39)(a), the adnominal D phrase is deleted just in case it is identical to the major category D.

It is important to note that the perceived function of the clitic is Loc--or directional--in (33) and (34) and possessive in (35). The 'meaning' of these clitics, then, is a function not only of the type of surface object, but also of the category of the objects. In (35) and (40) the function is only possessive, and it is quite inaccurate to gloss either (35) or (40),

(40) le retorcí el pie 'I twisted his foot'

as (41) or (42), as has often been done.

(41) I washed the child's hands for him

(42) I twisted his foot for him

There is no Benefactive case in the deep structure of these sentences, and it is curious, therefore, that these clitics have been interpreted as indicators that the activity is carried out for the benefit (or disadvantage) of the D N, or as <u>indicators</u> of some kind of 'interest' that the D takes in the activity. The 'interest' that the D object takes in the activity in (35) and (40) is that the hands and foot are <u>his</u>. There <u>are</u> sentences, however, in which the clitic registers in the V the presence of a Benefactive. This is the case, for example, in (43).

(43) Le hice las maletas. 'I packed the suitcases for him'

But it is <u>not</u> the case tnat (44) means 'I'm going to break your arm for you.'

(44) Le voy a romper el brazo 'I'm going to break your arm'

Such possessive sentences as these have been much misunderstood, and it is crucial to our understanding of Spanish that we recognize that D phrases can be the surface realizations of some five different categories in the deep structure.[11]

[11]Notice incidentally that me compró un libro is ambiguously derived from either compró un libro para mí 'He bought a book for me,' A mí me compró un libro 'He bought a book from me.'

3. Object pronominalization. As is generally true in English,[12] a repeated N in Spanish is replaced by a reflexive Prn if it is within the same simplex; otherwise it is replaced by a non-reflexive Prn (what Bello (1964) calls an oblique Prn). Thus, we have (45) and (46).

[12]For an analysis of English pronominalization see Lees and Klima, 1963. English always requires that a repeated N within a simplex be replaced by a reflexive Prn, according to Lees and Klima. In fact, this is not the case if the repeated N is a Comitative N or part of a literal Loc phrase, as we will see. English also reflexivizes across clauses in They appointed only men like themselves to the position, an alternant of They appointed only men who were like them to the position. Spanish never reflexivizes across clause boundaries.

(45) Me pidió que le protegiera (a él) 'He asked me to protect him'

(46) Me pidió que me protegiera (a mí mismo) 'He asked me to protect myself'

In (45) the object of the subordinate clause repeats the subject of the main clause; in (46) the object of the subordinate clause repeats the tacit subject (=Agentive) of the same clause. Leaving the description of reflexive pronominalization for later, let us examine direct and D object pronominalization with 'oblique' objects. We will generate the following sentences.

(47) Juan le dio el libro a María 'John gave the book to Mary'

(48) Juan le dio el libro a ella 'John gave the book to her';

(49) Juan le dio el libro 'John gave her the book'

(50) Juan se lo dio a María 'John gave it to Mary'

(51) Juan se lo dio a ella 'Juan gave it to her'

(52) Se lo dio Juan 'John gave it to her'

(53) Se lo dio 'He gave it to her'

Sentences (48) - (53), which contain both direct and D objects, are all varients of (47). Sentences (47) - (49) are generated below in sequence (54) - (63). Sentences (50) - (53) are generated in sequence (64) - (69). The differences between these diagrams and Fillmore's are determined by the fact that subjectivalization in Spanish frequently does not, and often cannot, include subject fronting.

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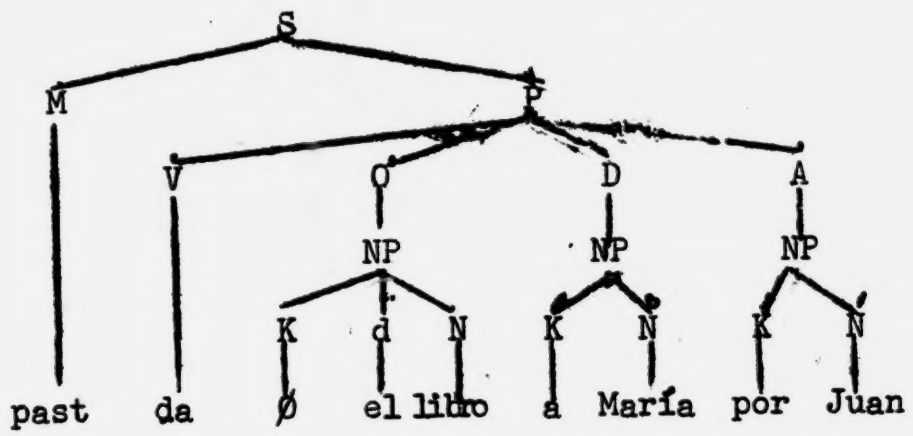

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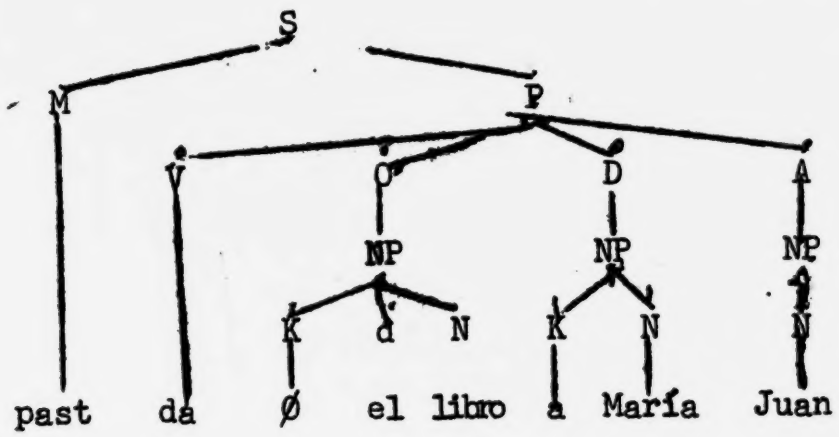

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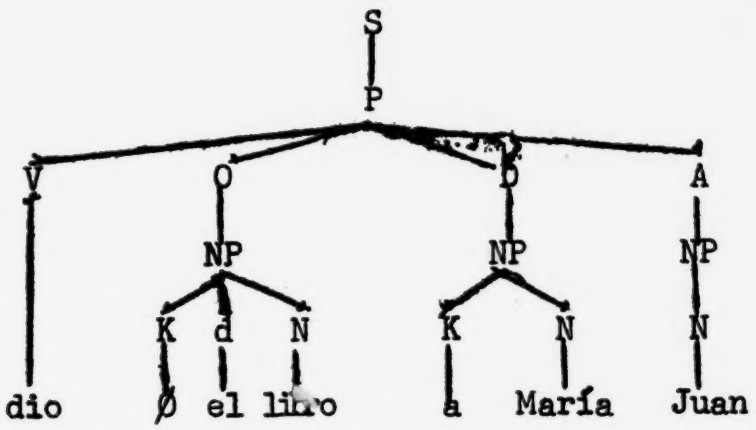

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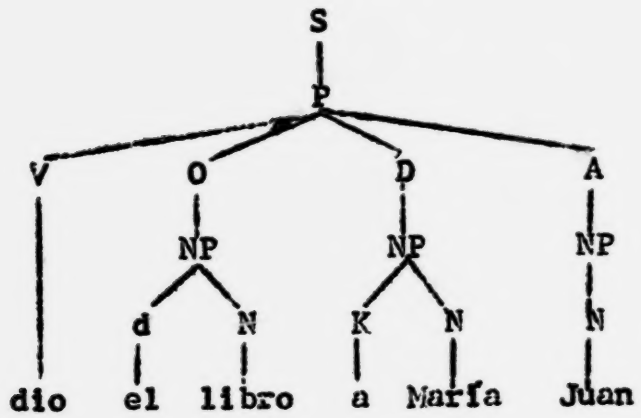
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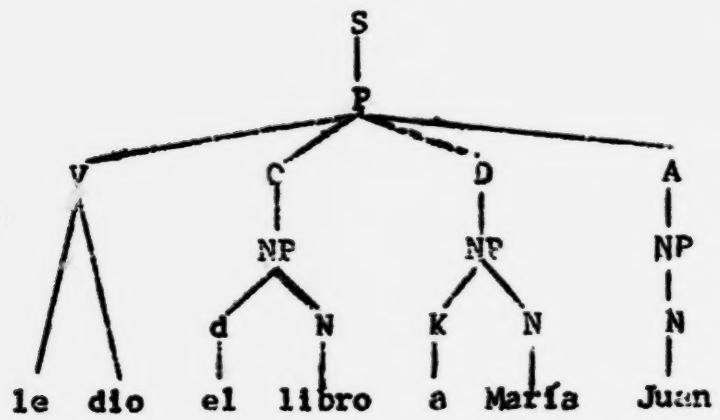
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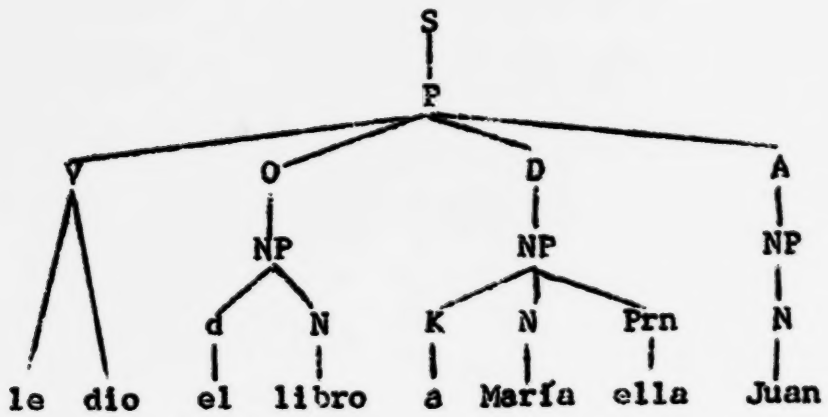
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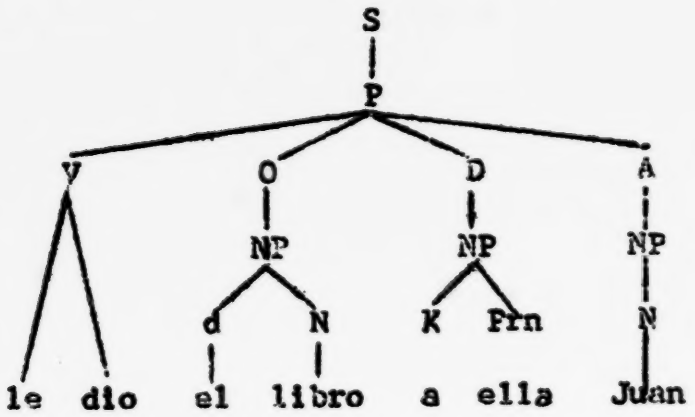
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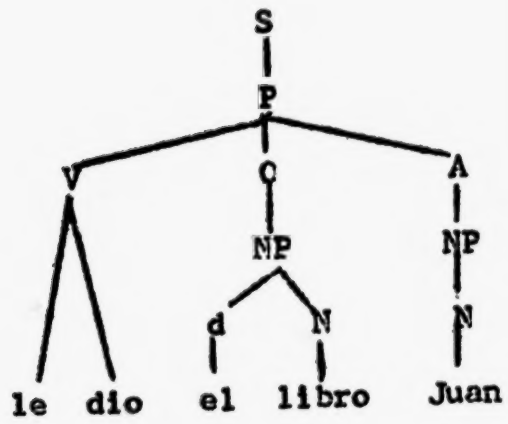
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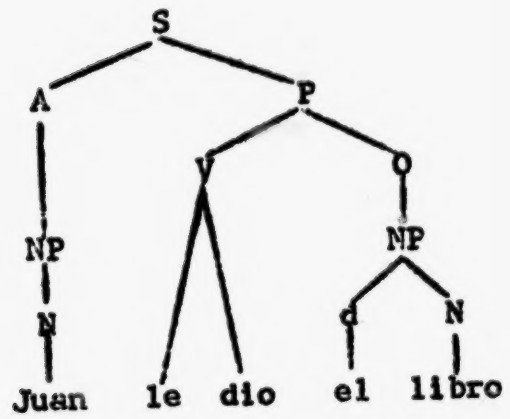
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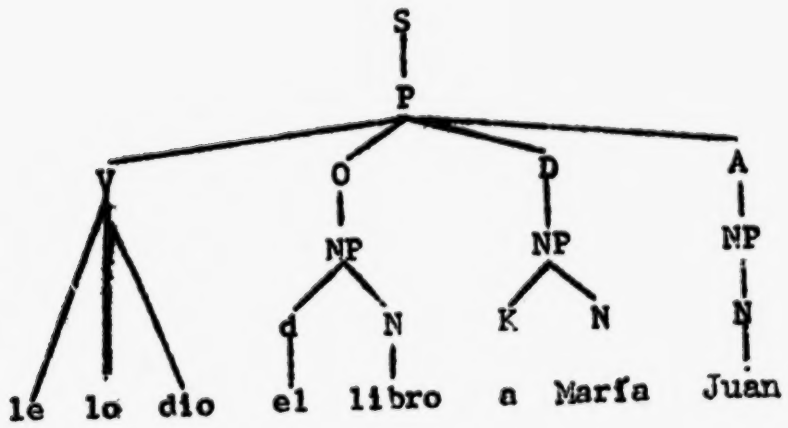
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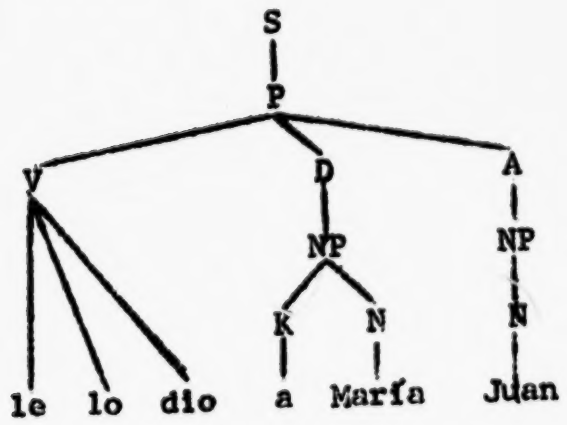
S
P
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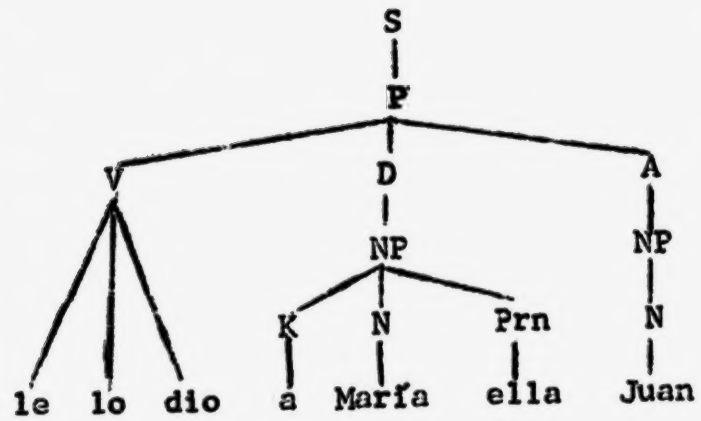
(65)



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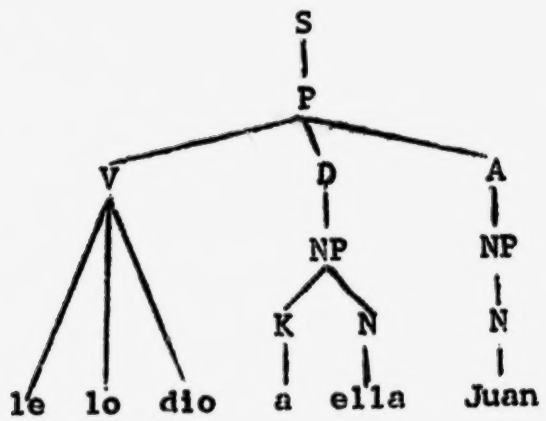

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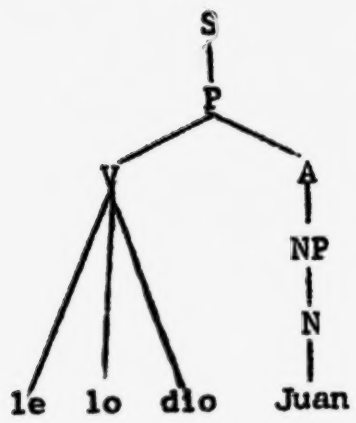

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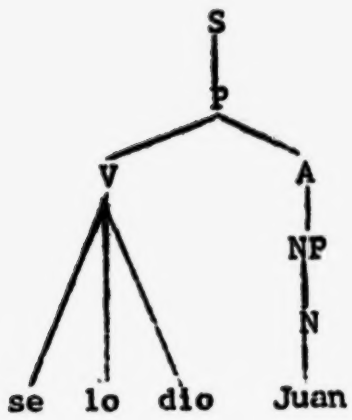

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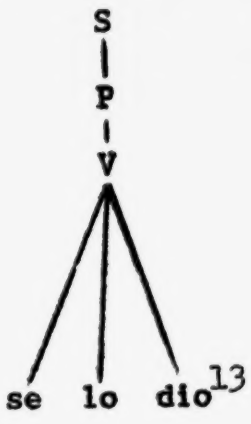

13

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[13]It is instructive to note that se lo dio occurs as a reflex of she/he/you gave it to her/him/you singular/you plural/them masculine/them femenine. We note also that although there is always complete concord with N and Prn, concord between clitic and N or Prn is often not achieved in nonstandard language. We hear se los di for se lo di 'I gave it to them', lo ocurre a ellos for les ocurre a ellos 'It occurs to them'; dale recuerdos a ellos for dales recuerdos a ellos 'Give them regards', and so on. In plural command forms, the clitics are sometimes incorporated in the V. We hear Póngalan for Pónganla 'put it'; démelon for dénmelo 'give it to me'; and so on. These are all errors that Spanish-speaking children are admonished by their grammar teachers not to make.

Subject fronting, when it occurs, follows the anaphoric subject deletion rule, and precedes fronting rules for other participants. Thus, the subject is deleted in (69) from its original position. The reason for this is that it is uneconomical to front the subject and then delete it. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that retention of this position is not infrequently obligatory. The answer to ¿Quién te lo dijo? 'Who told you?' can only be Me lo dijo María 'Mary told it to me' (provided the V is retained). Other examples of obligatory retention of subject or object in postverbal position are found in various places throughout the paper.

4. Reflexive and reciprocal pronominalization. As has already been noted, a N occurring for the second time in a simplex is obligatorily replaced with a reflexive Prn. Reflexive Prns are of two types: the simple Prn sí and the complex sí mismo. The occurrence of the two forms is observable in the following.

(70) María cree en sí misma 'Mary believes in herself'

(71) Juan la acercó a sí 'John drew her to him'

These sentences are based on (72) and (73) respectively.

(72) María cree en María 'Mary believes in Mary'

(73) Juan la acercó a Juan 'John drew her to John',

The difference in form between (70) and (71) is apparently determined by the fact that in (70) the static Loc phrase en sí misma is metaphorical, while in (72) the Loc is literal. In English we see a similar distinction between literal and metaphorical Locs. We have the reflexive Prn in (74) and the simple Prn in (75) and (76).

(74) Mary believes in herself

(75) Mary drew him toward her

(76) Mary put her clothes on (her)

Sentence (76) has the same structure as (77),

(77) Mary put the books on the table

which is certainly a simplex. The V put always requires a Loc phrase; there is no sentence (78),

(78) *Mary put the books

Sentence (76), then, like (75) and (78), is a simplex, as is (79),

(79) Mary put it behind her/the tree.

And since these sentences are simplexes, we must amend the rules presented by Lees and Klima (1964) to account for the fact that literal Loc Ns are replaced in English by the simple Prn and in Spanish by the simple reflexive Prn.

Now, if the repeated N is a surface direct or D object in Spanish, or if a Loc phrase is treated as a surface D, a special clitic is attached to the V. Observe the following.

(80) María se miró a sí misma 'Mary looked at herself'

(81) María se lo repetía a sí misma 'Mary repeated it to herself'

(82) Juan (se) la acercó a sí 'John drew her to him'

It is crucial to the interpretation of sentences like these to note that the reflexive Prns are sí and sí mismo, not the clitic se. This so-called 'reflexive' clitic is required in several different types of constructions, including those with reflexive and reciprocal objects. The one property that all 'reflexive' constructions have in common is that they are intransitive.[15] By this I mean that they cannot be passivized (in Classical Latin

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[15]Paul Postal (1964) notes that in Mohawk sentences with reflexive objects, the V requires a reflexive prefix and the object is obligatorily deleted. Reflexives in Mohawk, then, as in Spanish, are superficial intransitives.

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grammar, an intransitive V was defined as one that could not appear in the passive). Additional functions of the clitic are construction-bound, as we will see.

4.1. Deletion of reflexive objects. There is a type of intransitive construction in English that results from the deletion of reflexive objects. This type of intransitivization sometimes requires suppletive alternation in the V. Intransitivized reflexives include (83) - (86).

(83) John washed and dressed (himself)

(84) We put (ourselves) up at a hotel

(85) John sat down on a bench

(86) Mary lay down in bed

The Vs in (85) and (86) are suppletive alternants of set and lay, as is clear from their retention in non-standard English:

(87) John set (himself) down

(88) Mary laid (herself) down[16]

[16]For a discussion of the reflexive source of certain intransitives in English, see Curme, 1931.

Intransitivization in (83) and (84) is optional; in the others it is obligatory. Spanish also has optional and obligatory deletion of reflexive objects. Deletion is optional, for example, in (80) - (82). Sentences (89) - (91) are all possible, though normally not without some other participant in the sentence.

(89) María se miró al espejo 'Mary looked in the mirror'

(90) María se lo repetía (muchas veces) 'Mary repeated it (to herself) many times'

(91) Juan se la acercó 'John drew her to him'

Deletion is also optional in (92), which has (93) as an alternant. But in (94), where the surface object is a part of the subject, deletion is obligatory, so that only (95) is grammatical.

(92) Juan se lavó a sí mismo 'John washed himself'

(93) Juan se lavó (y se vistió) 'John washed and dressed'

(94) *Juan se lavó las manos a sí mismo

(95) Juan se lavó las manos 'John washed his hands'

The analysis of (95) parallels that of (35), except for the obligatory deletion of the adnominal in the latter. Deletion of adnominal reflexive Prns is always obligatory in Spanish.

4.1.1. Obligatory deletion with Vs of motion. Reflexive objects of Vs of motion are always deleted in Spanish, as has been noted by Amado Alonso.[17]

[17]Amado Alonso and Henríquez-Ureña (1959) point out that with Vs of motion among others, the clitic 'reflexive' is not an object, since all such Vs are intransitive.

Thus, we can say (96) - (99), but (100) - (103) are ungrammatical.

(96) Juan se sentó en un banco 'John sat (down) on a bench'

(97) Juan se levantó temprano 'John rose early'

(98) Juan se acostó a las once 'John went to bed at eleven'

(99) Juan se escondió detrás del árbol 'John hid behind the tree'

(100) *Juan se sentó a sí mismo en un banco 'John set himself on a bench'

(101) *Juan se levantó a sí mismo temprano 'John raised himself early'

(102) *Juan se acostó a sí mismo temprano 'John put himself to bed early'

(103) *Juan se escondió a sí mismo detrás del árbol 'John hid himself behind the tree'

All of these Vs may take oblique objects, and the deep structure of the intransitive sentences unambiguously contains a repeated N under D.

It should be pointed out that the translation of (96) and (97) as 'John seated himself...' and 'John raised himself early' is inexact. The most accurate translation of (96) is 'John sat(up/down)on a bench'; the most accurate translation of (99) is 'John rose early,' where rose is the suppletive alternant of raise (plus reflexive object).

4.1.2. Absolute reflexives. Spanish, like English, has absolute reflexive Vs--Vs, that is, which do not take oblique human objects. The difference between the two languages is that absolute reflexive objects in Spanish are obligatorily deleted. Thus, although we can say either (104) or (105) in English, only (106) and (107) are grammatical in Spanish.

(104) John behaves himself well

(105) John behaves well

(106) Juan se comporta bien 'John behaves well'

(107) Juan se expresa bien 'John expresses (himself) well'

Sentences (106) and (107) are not realizable as (108) or (109)

(108) *Juan se comporta bien a sí mismo

(109) *Juan se expresa bien a sí mismo

Absolute reflexives are to be sharply distinguished from inherently 'reflexive' Vs. Such Vs as atreverse 'dare', acordarse 'remember' and so on, are not reflexives with deleted objects, and 'reflexive' Vs will not, therefore, be considered in a discussion of object pronominalization.

4.2. The generation of reflexive objects. The reflexive object in Spanish normally repeats an animate N. While there are instances of repetition of an inanimate subject, it is important to note that repeated inanimate Ns are never deletable. Thus, in (110) the reflexive phrase is obligatorily present.

(110) Esto se explica a sí mismo 'This explains itself'

Sentence (111) is not a result of object deletion. It is unambiguously a (medio)passive . sentence.

(111) Esto se explica fácilmente 'This is easily explained'

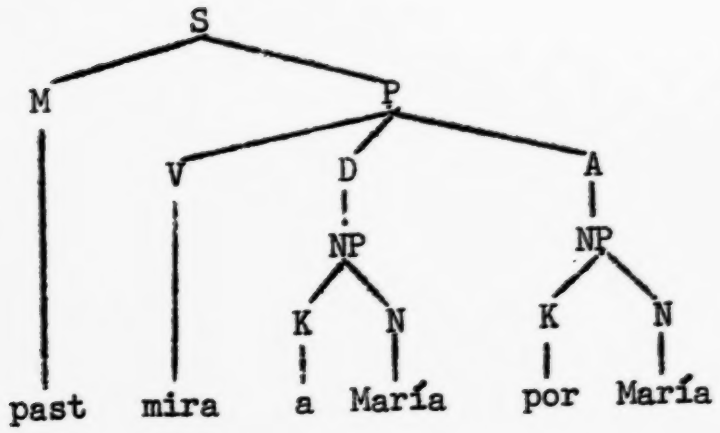
Underlying (111) is a deep structure with an X (dummy) Agentive (A) N and an O (esto).

(112) explic(a) Ø esto por X (fácilmente)

Sentences of this type are discussed in 5.

The generation of sentences with reflexive objects parallels that of sentences with oblique objects, except for the required presence of the intensifier mismo in reflexive sentences. The structure diagrams below illustrate the generation of sentence (80).

(113)



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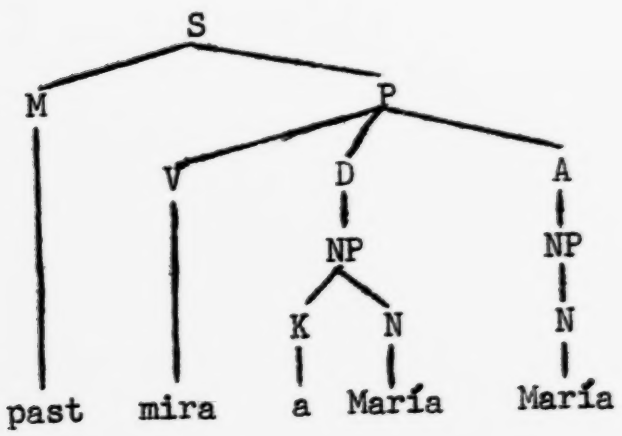

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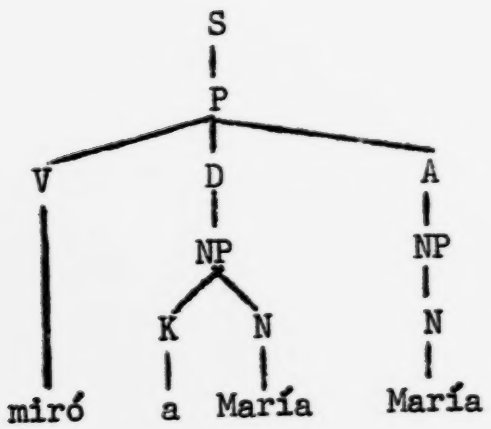

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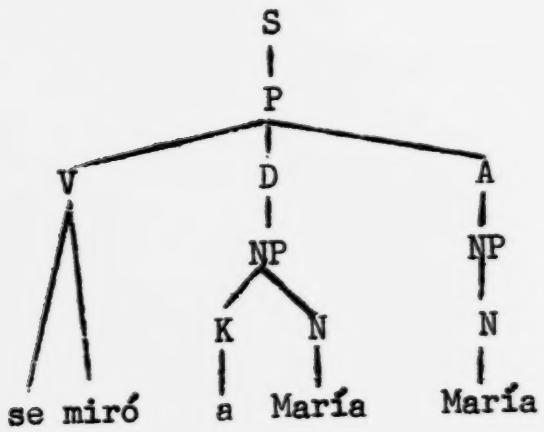

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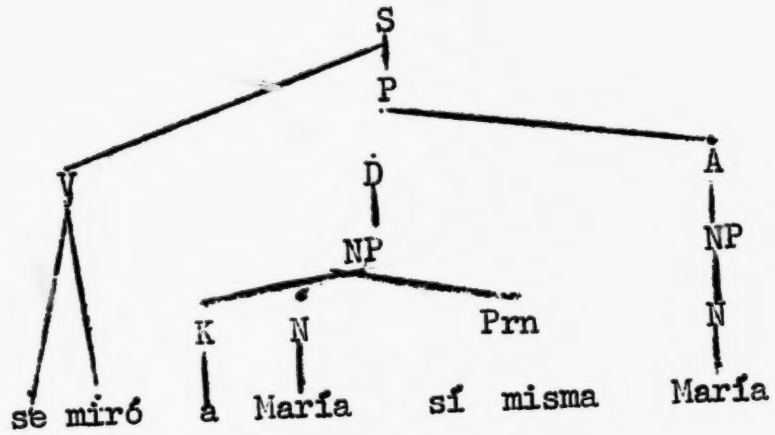

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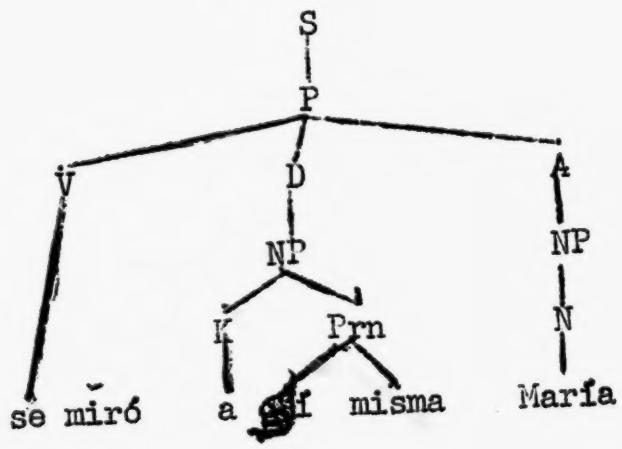

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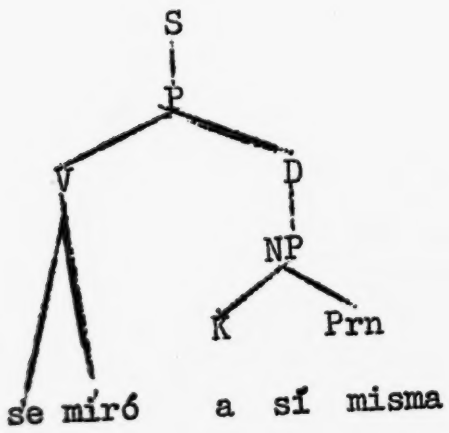
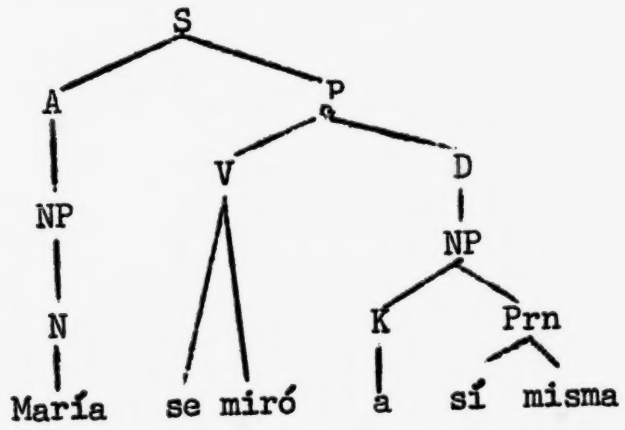


(120)

(121) instead of (125) and (126)



4.3. Reciprocal pronominalization. The available analyses of reciprocal pronominalization have been based on the assumption that the reciprocal 'Prn' is simply a replacive (See Lees and Klima, 1964). This is not the case, as is observable in the following sentences.

(122) The children saw each other

(123) Each (one) of the children saw the other (ones of the) children

These two sentences are alternants, and it is important to note that each is part of the surface subject phrase, while other is part of the surface object phrase.[18] This is a fact that has been overlooked, and a fact which obliges us to revise the analysis of reciprocal pronominalization. Basing our interpretation on sentences (122) and (123) we observe that both reflexive and reciprocal pronominalization result from identity of Ns in a simplex. It is the prenominal modifiers that differ. In Spanish, when the reciprocal object is deleted, the sentence is ambiguous because the verbal clitic is the same for reflexive and reciprocal constructions. Thus, underlying (124) is either (125) or (126).

[18] Notice that in literary English we have They pledged their allegiance each to the other.

(124) Los niños se miraron

(125) Los niños se miraron a sí mismos 'The children looked at themselves'

(126) Los niños se miraron el uno al otro 'The children looked at each other'

In English we have Each (saw) the other; in Spanish we have The one (saw) the other.[19]

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[19] I believe this analysis extends to cover reciprocal sentences with conjoined Ns. I am therefore assuming that the relationship that Fillmore (1968) says may exist between conjunction and the Comitative case does in fact exist.

Since much of the behavior of prenominal modifiers (limiters) remains mysterious, it is premature to try to say exactly how each and other are derived. We can say each saw the other and each of the other two; so each and other apparently do not derive from the same limiter category. However, since we can't say (127),

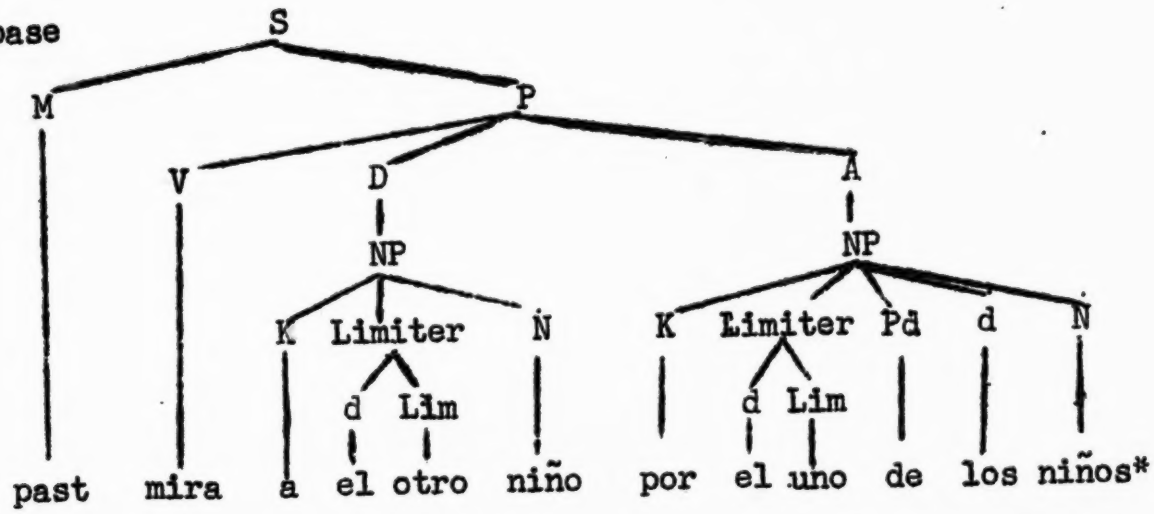
(127) *Each of the children saw the children,

I believe we can assume ad hoc that if we choose something like (127), other is obligatorily the Limiter for the object-N. In other words, when we have identical Ns in a simplex, and we choose the Limiter each as part of the subject NP, the only limiter (aside from each) possible for the repeated NP is other. In Spanish we assume as a base something like (128).

(128) (El) uno de los niños miró al otro niño

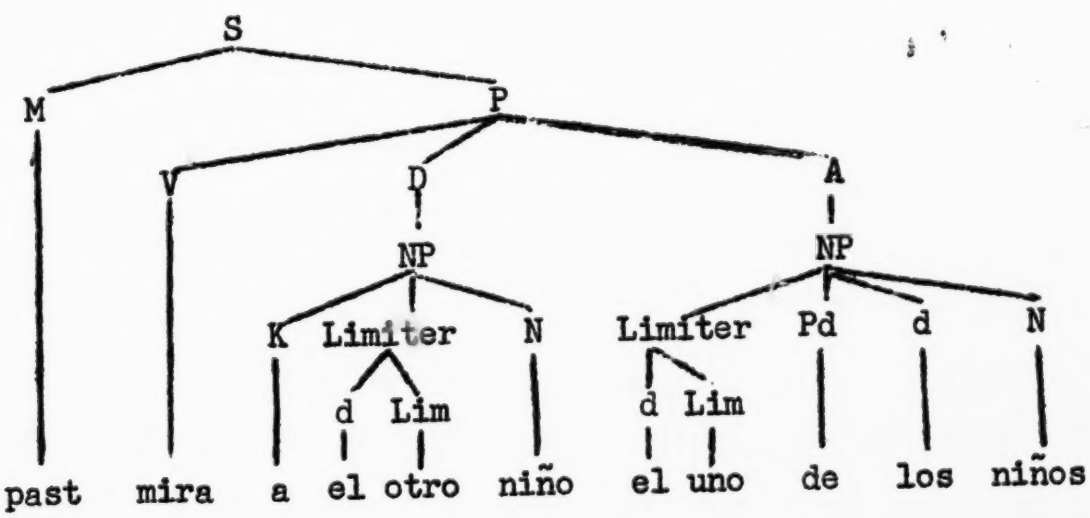
This is justified as a base because, although we cannot say *el uno de los niños, we can say el uno, as a Prn derived from el uno de los niños. The generation of reciprocal sentences follows.

(129) base

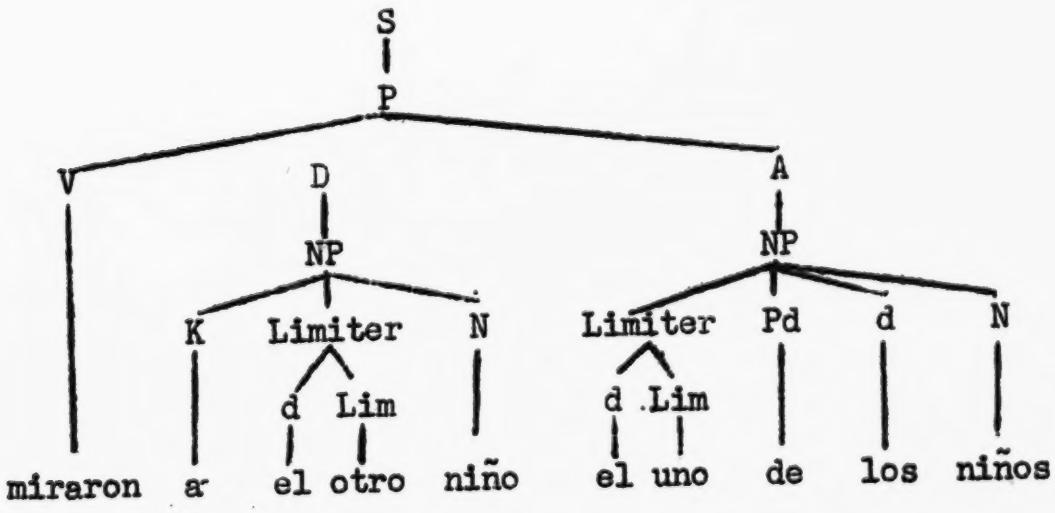


*The reason for deriving d from Limiter under D is that the NP is a 'short form' for el otro de los niños. Pd is the 'Predeterminer' of. Actually I think the Pd is an internal surface case marker, probably genitive. It is deleted here ad hoc by the case deletion rules which follow subjectivalization and V concord and precede pronominalization

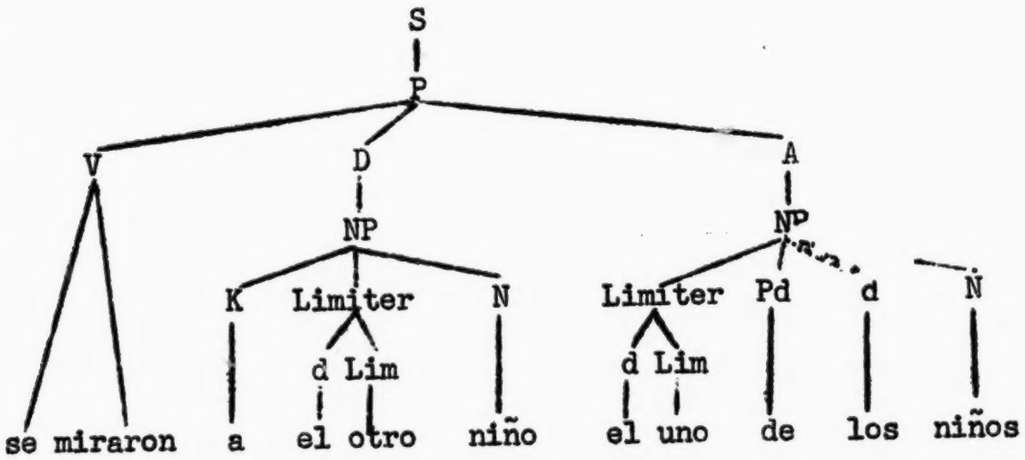
(130) Delete subj case marker



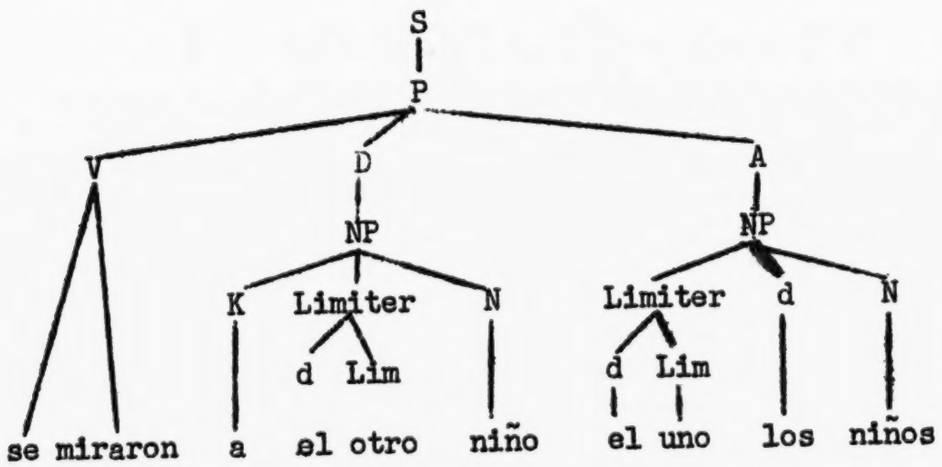
(131) V concord with subj



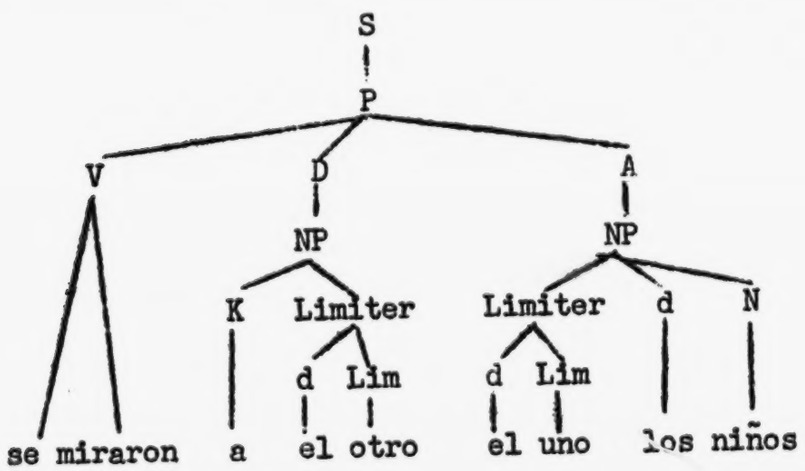
(132) Clitic attachment



(133) Deletion of Pd(case)



(134) Deletion of N under D



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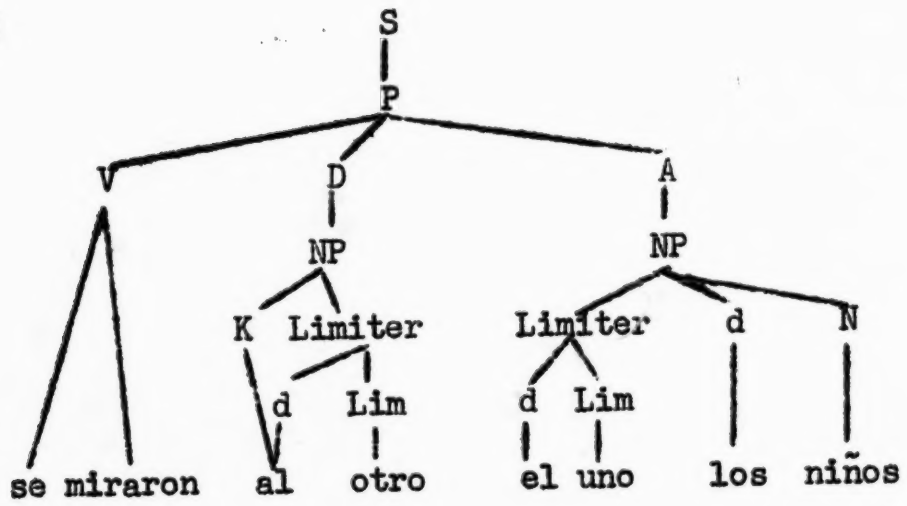

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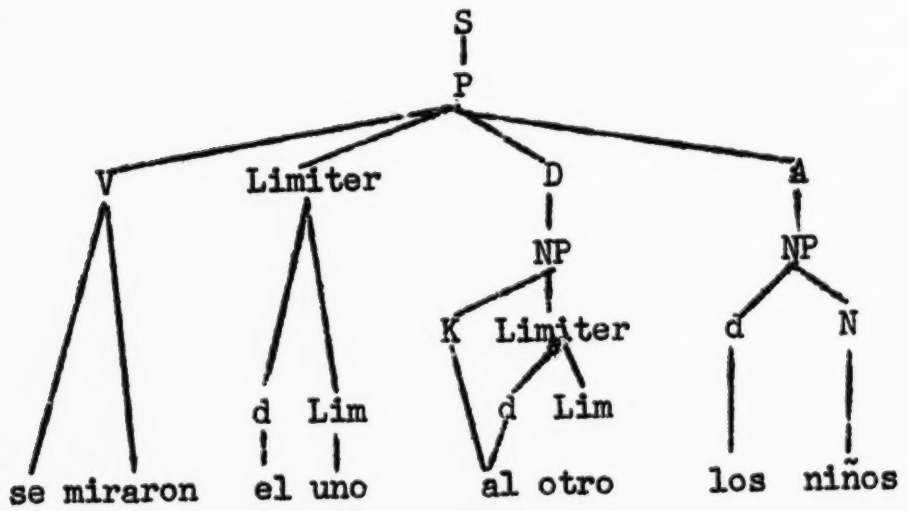

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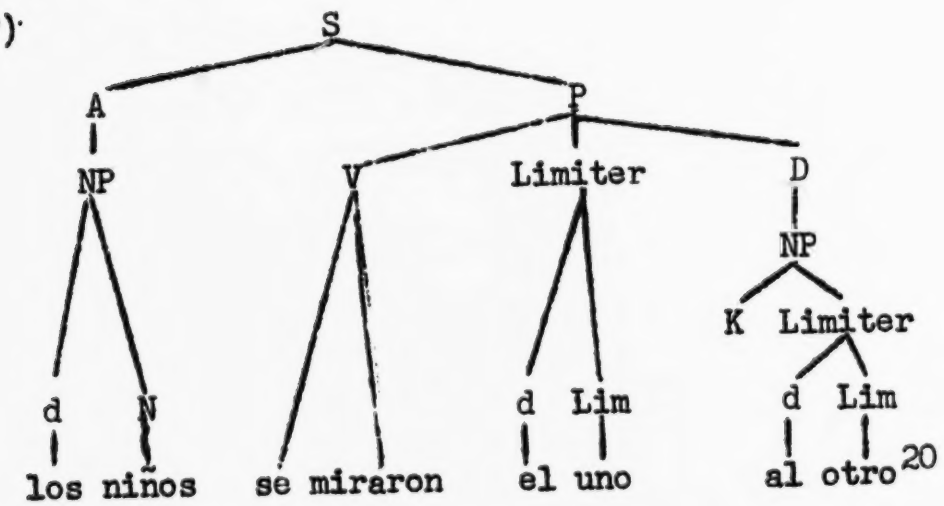

[20]

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[20] I am ignoring for the present the rules that attach the clitics optionally to infinitives and gerunds and obligatorily to affirmative commands. The postclitics are found in ábrelo 'open it'; voy a hacerlo 'I'm going to do it'; and está cantándola 'He is singing it.' It is a simple rule which need not concern us here.

2. The middle voice in Spanish. The 'reflexive' constructions not considered in our discussion of object pronominalization include the (medio)-passive constructions and certain constructions with absolute intransitive Vs. The 'reflexive' clitic with mediopassives and absolute intransitives is not in any sense, literal or figurative, an object marker. Let us turn first to the so-called 'reflexive' passives, which are referred to here as 'mediopassives.' Observe

(138) Las paces se firmaron por los plenipotenciarios 'The peace was signed by the plenipotentiaries'

(139) Este libro se caracteriza por su estilo 'This book is characterized by its style'

(140) Se mató a los cristianos 'The Christians got killed'

(141) Se vive bien aquí 'It (life) lives well here'

Sentence (138) is referred to in the grammar of the Spanish Academy (1962) as a 'primary' passive, one in which there is a surface A. Sentence (139) has an Instrumental (I) phrase introduced by the A preposition por. It is a surface A phrase and no A is present in the deep structure. Sentence (142) has been called a 'secondary' passive, one in which the A has been deleted.

(142) Se firmaron las paces 'The peace was signed'

In constructions like these, the Academy grammarians point out, the 'Prns'. se is not reflexive; it is merely the sign of the passive. Notice that (138) - (141) include a sentence which is a mediopassive without subjectivalization (140), and another in which there is only a V (141). These sentences, as we will see, have the same deep structure as (138) and (139).

Mediopassives with expressed As, although they are presented as normal sentences in the Academy grammar, are, to say the least, unusual. Sentences like (139) with Is, are normal. Now, it is important to note that mediopassive

constructions in Spanish correspond to passives, get- passives, and intransitives of the type The door opened (a type of passive) in English.[21] We may

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[21] It is extremely important to bear in mind that the so-called 'true' passives with ser, (La casa fue construída por el arquitecto 'The house was built by the architect') are not a part of the spoken language. In fact, with many Vs, the passive is ungrammatical in written Spanish. *María fue espantada por Juan would never occur. In general, all sentences with causative Vs, and all sentences with D's or Source phrases as objects, are unpassivizable. We cannot say either *Un libro fue dado a Juan or *Juan fue dado un libro. The passive in Spanish is the property of journalists and scholars. It does not even normally occur in literary Spanish. One can read through one long contemporary novel after another without finding a single passive construction. We do, however, have to allow the generation of passives in spoken Spanish, in order to account for el libro escrito por Juan 'the book written by John.'

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therefore expect to find mediopassives with tacit X-As, others with I's, and others without As or Is in the deep structure. With a few Vs there is a formal distinction between mediopassives with se and simple intransitives. But with most Vs, Spanish does not make a distinction of the sort that exists between be and get-passives and intransitives in English.

Before continuing with our discussion of the Spanish mediopassive, it will be instructive to note some of the comments made by Tesnière (1959) about what he calls la voix récessive. It is syntactically inaccurate, according to Tesnière, to call such sentences as (143) and (144) reflexive or pronominal.

(143) La porte s'ouvre 'The door opens'

(144) Le blé se sème en automne 'The wheat is sown in the Autumn'

The se of these constructions is morphologically pronominal, according to Tesnière, but not syntactically.[22] As in some other languages, the same

[22]I would amend this to say that se, in all of its occurrences, is only etymologically a pronoun. French reflexive constructions correspond, on the whole, to Spanish constructions. In Marie se regarde à elle mème 'Mary looks at herself' the Prn is elle mème. Notice also Jean se lève 'John rises' but not *Jean se lève a lui mème.

morpheme indicates reflexive, reciprocal, and 'recessive.' In the reflexive construction, the se marks subject and object identity, and because of this identity, according to Tesnière, there really is only one participant in the sentence. In the recessive construction, a V which may have two (or more) participants is marked by se as having only one, non-primary participant. (The primary participant is the transitive subject.) Although Tesnière's observations are revealing, it is inaccurate to say that recessive constructions have only one participant, Corresponding to (139) we have (145).

(145) Le livre se caractérise par son style 'This book is characterized by its style!

This is a mediopassive sentence determined by subject selection. Since an I, which would be the subject of the transitive alternant, may co-occur with these recessive Vs, we cannot say that the se marks a V as having only one participant. Rather, what it marks, in French as well as Spanish, is the selection of an 'intransitive' participant as subject.[23] We will say, then,

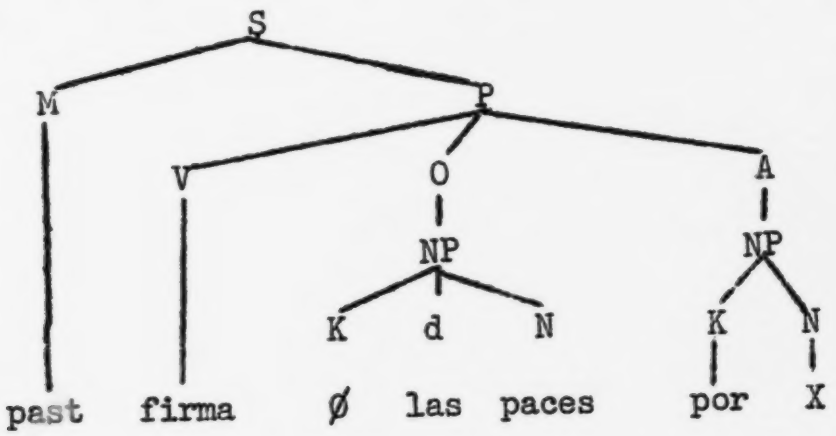
[23]By an 'intransitive' participant I mean one which cannot be the subject of a transitive alternant. (A transitive subject is not necessarily active. Only A and I subjects are active.)

that the se of the third person mediopassive constructions, marks the subject as intransitive, just as it marks the reflexive object-sentence as intransitive. In this function, the clitic se attaches only to Vs that

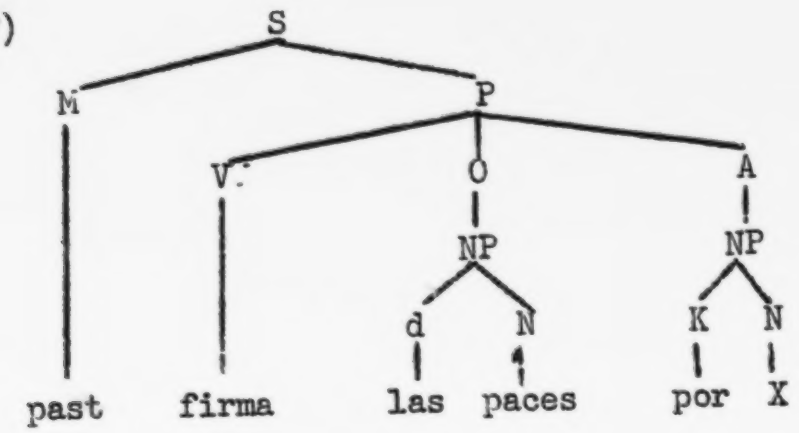
take surface objects. Instead of 'recessive,' I choose to call these constructions 'mediopassive.' This is because virtually all reflexive constructions--reciprocal, reflexive, passive--correspond to middle voice constructions in Greek. It is less confusing to call the non-pronominal constructions 'middle' than to call them 'reflexive.'

The generation of Se firmaron las paces, which must contain an X-A in the deep structure, is illustrated below.

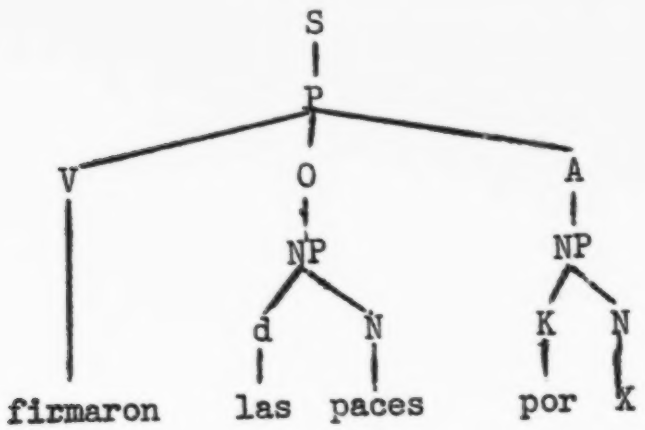
(146)



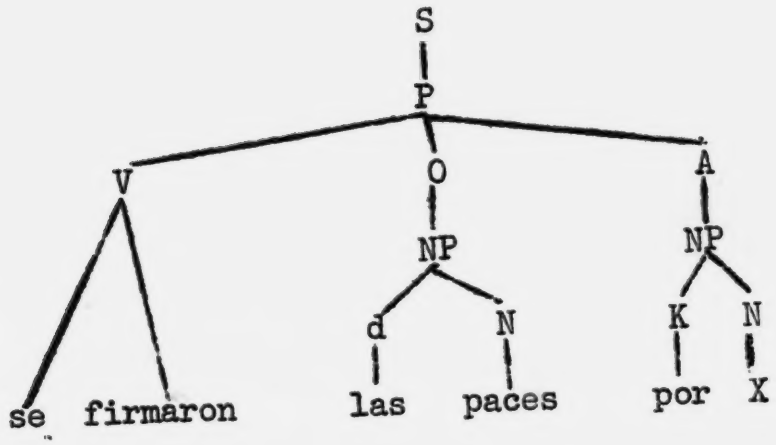
(147)



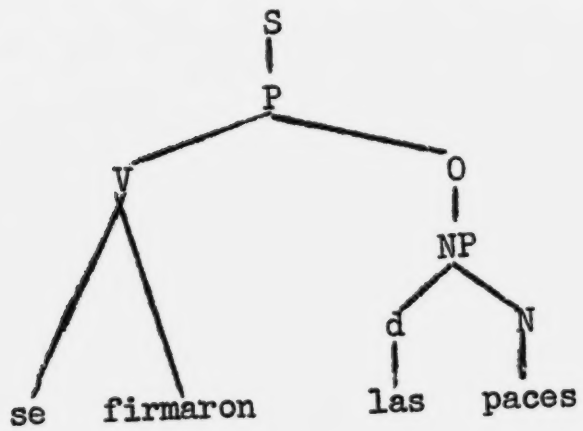
(148)



(149)



(150)



When the intransitive participant in third person medi-opassive constructions is inanimate, the V must exhibit concord with it. Such constructions as (151) and (152), therefore, are ungrammatical.

(151) *Se vende flores 'Flowers are sold'

(152) *Se habla expañol y francés aquí 'Spanish and French are spoken here'

If a string contains an X-A and a human D N, mediopassivization does not involve subjectivalization. Sentence (142) is exactly the same kind of sentence as (141), except for the fact that the D preposition is obligatorily retained and the D N is, therefore, not subjectivalized. And since the D is not subjectivalized, it does not govern verbal concord. The V in these constructions is always third person singular, and the sentence is mediopassive, but subjectless. The verbal inflection is determined by <u>retention</u> of the case marker. It follows from these observations that mediopassives

of the third-person-only type cannot have human subjects. Sentence (153) results unambiguously from deletion of the reflexive object.

(153) Se mataron los cristianos (a sí mismos) 'The Christians killed themselves'

One more (superficially) subjectless mediopassive construction remains to be analyzed. Sentences like (141) Se vive bien aquí have been much misunderstood. The clitic in this sentence is often said to be some kind of indefinite subject Prn like English one, and it has been claimed (Bolinger, 1960) that se can be 'added' to any V to identify an activity as 'going on' with no definite subject. Both of these observations are inaccurate. This so-called indefinite subject-construction is impossible with any V understood transitively, that is, any V with a deleted object. Thus, a sentence like (154),

(154) Se mató allí, 'He killed himself there'

unambiguously has a reflexive object. In fact this 'subjectless' construction is limited to mediopassives. When the underlying passive subject is a cognate of the V, it is obligatorily deleted.[24] Sentence (141) is unambiguously derived from (155).

(155) Se vive la vida bien aquí 'Life is lived well here'

Similarly we have (156) - (158).

(156) Se canta (una canción) en la iglesia 'A song is being sung in the church'

(157) Se habló (habla) de la guerra 'Talk was talked about the war'

(158) No se juega (un juego) aquí 'No game is to be played here'

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[24]For an analysis of cognate constructions see my 'Syntactic dissimilation,' available from ERIC clearinghouse for linguistics.

These sentences are distinguished from (159) and (160) in that the subject in the latter is retrievable at the sentence level.

(159) No se dice (eso) 'That isn't said'

(160) No se hace (eso) 'That isn't done'[25]

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[25]It is interesting to note what is said about these constructions in the Academy grammar. I quote: 'Estas construcciones se reducen a oraciones segundas de pasiva, pero de sujeto tácito; ... El complemento directo de reñir, no puede ser originariamente otro que la voz riña, como el de cantar lo es el substantivo canción, y el de pelear, pelea. En la voz pasiva, cuando decimos se riñe, se canta, se pelea, el sujeto callado es riña, canción, pelea.' (See p. 260.)

There are some superficially subjectless sentences that have uno 'one' as underlying subject. Notice, for example, (161),

(161) Se está contento aquí 'One is contented (inside) here,'

which derives from (162),

(162) Uno se está contento aquí.[26]

---

[26]Notice that this construction is quite clearly distinguished from 'indefinite' se constructions in that it occurs in all persons: Me estoy contento aquí 'I am contented (inside) here.' The source of this clitic is discussed in 5.3. There are some intransitive constructions that have been analyzed as the same as se vive. Such sentences as Se sigue por esa calle 'One continues (from here) along that street', and Se entra por allí 'One enters (from outside) through there' are analyzable as Uno se sigue por esa calle and Uno se entra por allí. The source of the clitic in these sentences is the same as that in Juan se fue de la casa, discussed in 5.2, where the clitic is shown to be determined by a Source phrase.

5.1. Some further observations on mediopassive sentences. In some cases Spanish makes a formal distinction between A-deletion and the absence of an A. For example, we can say either (163) or (164), (165) or (166), (167) or (168).

(163) La puerta se abre fácilmente 'The door is easily opened'

(164) La puerta abre fácilmente 'The door opens easily'

(165) Se tocó el timbre 'The bell was rung'

(166) Tocó el timbre 'The bell rang'

(167) Se terminó el baile 'The dance was ended'

(168) Terminó el baile 'The dance ended'

The simple intransitive sentences above have no A in the deep structure. The mediopassive sentences have X-As in the deep structure. There are many other Vs for which an A (or rather, a transitive participant) is always implicit. Examples are

(169) Se escribió la novela en Sitges 'The novel got written in Sitges'

(170) Se recibió la carta ayer 'The letter was received yesterday'

(171) Se le mandó una taza de café 'A cup of coffee was sent to him'

It is important to note that the mediopassive subject (logical object) cannot always be fronted. Fronting of the subject is abnormal in all three of the preceding sentences. Subject fronting in (171), for example, is impossible. There is no (172).

(172) *Una taza de café se le mandó[27]

---

[27]The factors determining subject and object position in Spanish are complex, to say the least. Sometimes the positions are determined by the construction; sometimes the individual V determines positioning. Fronting of participants occurs also for focus, emphasis, and contrast. But it is extremely important to note that Spanish word order is not nearly so flexible as has been claimed. For example, we say A Juan le espanta la muerte, 'Death frightens John' but not *La muerte le espanta a Juan. Since la muerte with espantar must be the last constituent, and since there are many other sentences where the mediopassive subject is the last constituent in a minimal simplex, the notion (Bolinger and others, 1960) that a constituent is placed in the last position in the sentence in order to achieve what corresponds to loud or emphatic stress in English is inaccurate. Although, as in English, emphasis, or focus, is sometimes brought about by inversion, it can also be

achieved by greater loudness. And it is obvious in sentence (171) that, since the mediopassive subject can't be in any other position it cannot be said to be in that position for reasons of stress. More observations on word order than are relevant here may be found in Reflexives.

5.1.1. There are many causative Vs with animate Locs and optionally an A or an I which appear in the mediopassive (never the passive) when the D is chosen as subject. Thus we have the active in (173) and the mediopassive in (174).

(173) A Juan le espanta la muerte 'Death frightens John'

(174) Juan se espanta de la muerte 'John is (gets) frightened of death'

5.2. Middles determined by Source phrases. It was pointed out in 2.2.1. that the D clitic has a Loc, or directional, function when its presence is determined by a Loc phrase. There are middle sentences also in which the clitic has a directional function. Observe the following.

(175) Juan se fue de la casa 'John went away from the house'

(176) Se me fue mi amigo 'My friend went away from me'

(177) A Juan se le olvidó hacerlo 'John forgot to do it'

(178) A Juan se le perdió el dinero 'John lost the money'

(179) A Juan se le murió su padre 'John's father passed away from him'

The middle clitics in these sentences have been called 'reflexives of interest' optionally 'added' to convey the subject's emotional involvement in the activity, to indicate for (176), say, that the subject goes willingly or resists going, and so on. The grammatical facts of these constructions allow us, happily, to give up the notion of emotional involvement. Notice, that although we can say (180) and (181), (182) and (183) are ungrammatical.

(180) Juan fue a la escuela 'John went to school'

(181) Juan cayó al suelo 'John fell to the ground'

(183) *Juan fue de la casa 'John went from the house'

(184) *Juan cayó del árbol 'John fell from the tree'

The clitics are obligatorily attached to these Vs when a Source adverb is present. They function as markers of 'direction from' indicated by off and away, in English. Thus, (175) is accurately translated as John went away from the house, and the clitic in (184) has the same function as down in the English translation.

(184) Juan se cayó del árbol 'John fell down from the tree'

Even in sentences with L phrases, the clitics cannot be said to be optional. (181) contains only an L; in (185) the Source has been deleted.

(185) Juan se cayó al suelo 'John fell down to the ground'

In sentences (175) - (179) the human Source phrase is a surface D and its presence is registered in the V by the D clitic, not by the se. The latter indicates only the direction of motion. Sentences (177) and (178) deserve special attention because they have transitive alternants. (186) and (187) have the same deep structure as (177) and (178).

(186) Juan olvidó hacerlo 'John forgot to do it'

(187) Juan perdió el dinero 'John lost the money'[28]

---

[28]The subjects in these two sentences may also be As, but the A-subject sentences are not alternants of (178) and (179). As in English, the transitive sentence leaves it unspecified whether the subject is A or not. In John lost his money, the subject is either A or Source. In John deliberately lost his money the subject is an A.

Sentences (177) and (178) are the alternants required when the O phrases are chosen as subjects in the presence of the Source phrases. In other words, these sentences are analyzed along with (176) (which has an A) rather than

as ordinary mediopassives, because the latter are triggered by treating an X-Source as a superficial A and not as Source. Thus, (188) has an implicit A--Source qua A.

(188) Se perdió el dinero 'The money got lost'

Sentences (177) and (178), it should be pointed out, unlike (186), cannot have As in the deep structure, and there is a difference in semantic focus between the surface structures of those in the first two and the transitive sentences. (177) is 'The money got lost from me'; (178) is 'It was forgotten from me to do it.'[29]

---

[29]It should be pointed out that se le + V constructions are not always of this type. In Se te ven las lágrimas 'Your tears can be seen' the te is a registration of the V of an adnominal D of possession. The same is true of the me in Se me llenaron los ojos de lágrimas 'My eyes filled with tears.'

The Source clitic is obligatory in (175) - (178). We cannot say (189) or (190).

(189) *Me olvidó hacerlo

(190) *Me perdió el dinero[30]

---

[30]There are actually three possible sentences with olvidar hacerlo: Olvidé hacerlo 'I forgot to do it'; se me olvidó hacerlo 'It was forgotten from me to do it'; and Me olvidé de hacerlo 'I forgot (inside) to do it.' The last of these has an L subject, as does feel in I feel sick inside.

It should be noted that in (179), deletion of the Source phrase may be accompanied by deletion of the D clitic, as in (191).

(191) Se murió mi padre 'My father passed away (from me)'

If no Source is present in the deep sturcture with morir, the sentence is realized as (192).

(192) Murió mi padre 'My father died'

Retention of the Source phrase involves obligatory fronting of the phrase. There is no (193) or (194).

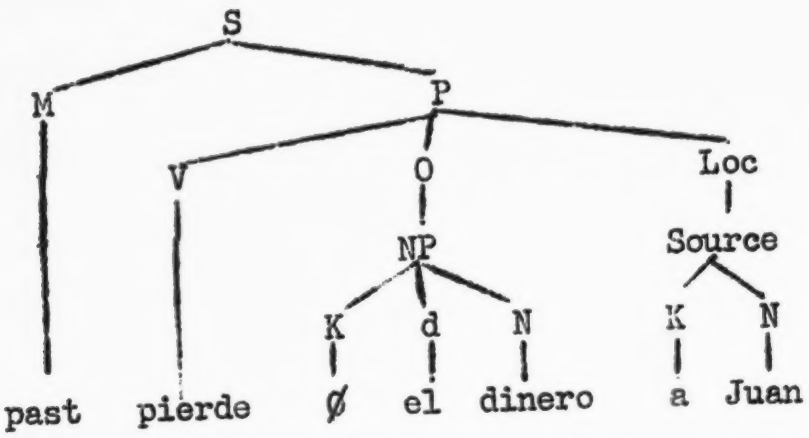
(193) *El dinero se le perdió a Juan

(194) *Se le perdió el dinero a Juan

As Marta Morello-Frosch has pointed out, it is not the case, as has been claimed, that these sentences would seldom be said; in fact, they would never be said.

5.2.1. The deep structure for A Juan se le perdió el dinero is illustrated as follows.

(195)



The additional steps in derivation parallel those in other constructions we have seen. Fronting of the Source adverb is the final step.

5.3. Further observations on middles. There are some middle sentences that remain to be accounted for. First of all there are many inherent middles in Spanish which must simply be marked [+Middle] in the lexicon. The middle clitic is then attached by a rule such as (196).

$$\overset{V}{[+\text{Middle}]} \Longrightarrow \text{se} + V$$

Middle Vs do not take surface objects and non-middle clitics do not therefore attach to them. There is no (197).

(197) *Se me quejó 'He complained to me'

Another type of middle construction, in which the clitic is said to be optional, is found in such sentences as (198).

(198) Yo (me) sé la lección 'I know the lesson (inside)'

The clitic in sentences like these is determined by the L subject. It is optional just as the inside of I know (it) inside is optional. Sentences like these, in both languages are determined by subject copying rather than by simple subjectivalization. Thus we have, ignoring the Factitive object,

(199) know inside me

(200) inside me know inside me

(201) I know inside me

(202) I know inside

In Spanish the process is something like this;

(203) sabe dentro de mí

(204) sabe dentro de mí dentro de mí

(205) sabe dentro de mí yo

(206) sé dentro de mí yo

(207) me sé dentro de mí yo

(208) me sé yo

5.4. The positioning of clitics. The positioning of the clitics has been illustrated in several sequences of diagrams. I need only to point out here the restrictions. If there is a middle clitic it precedes either a D or a direct object marker; if there is no middle clitic, but a D, the D clitic precedes the direct object marker. The restrictions are summed up as follows. The middle clitic is symbolized as 'Mid'; the D clitic by 'D'; and the direct object marker by 'Dr.' The parentheses indicate that one or the other or both may occur.

(209) $$\left[\begin{matrix}(\text{Mid})\left\{\begin{matrix}(\text{D})\\(\text{Dr})\end{matrix}\right\}\\(\text{D}) \qquad (\text{Dr})\end{matrix}\right]$$

This is to be taken simply as a kind of summary, since, as we have seen, the clitics are inserted one at a time. It follows from this description that no more than two clitics may attach to a V. There is no (210) or (211).

(210) *Se me lo dijo 'I was told it'

(211) *Se me lo perdió 'It got lost'

5.5. Recapitulation. In this study it has been shown that the verbal clitics in Spanish are distinguished from object Prns. The D clitics and the middle clitics are shown to have a[illegible]tional or possessive functions according to the category determining their presence. Oblique and reflexive Prns are distinguished, and the generation of object Prns and most types of middles (so-called 'reflexives') is illustrated. The facts of clitic behavior in Spanish make it a little more 'unusual' Western language than has been thought, and a little less unusual than it would be if Se me perdió el dinero were really accurately glossed as 'The money lost itself to me.'

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